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AUTHOR Cameron, Carrie
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ABSTRACT

This study examines the use in Japanese of verb forms containing -(r)are in syntactical expressions. The meaning and function of the adversative passive and its behavior vis-a-vis the non-adversative or plain passive is discussed, and the related non-derived constructions and their relationships to the adversative passive are analyzed. Finally the implications for voice systems in general are considered. It is concluded that the morpheme -(r)are is not exclusively an inflectional marker, but works as a marker of canonical passivization in derived plain and affective passives much like the English passive--ed, and works as a limited derivational morpheme elsewhere. The morpheme appears in both 'basic' and 'derived' constructions and can fulfill either grammatical or semantical constructions or both at the same time, in the affective passive. Furthermore, semantic voice is not always realized inflectionally and pragmatic voice is not always realized by sentence derivation. To understand how voice works, one must look not just at morphology or sentence derivation, but at how the grammatical relations and semantic roles are affected in various constructions. (JL)

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THE INTERACTION OF GRAMMATICAL AND SEMANTIC VOICE: DATA FROM JAPANESE

Carrie Cameron
Rice University

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1.0 Introduction

Syntactic expressions built about a verb form containing *-(r)are* have a variety of semantic and pragmatic functions in Japanese, one of which is the so-called adversative passive. Its relation to the other (non-passive) forms in *-(r)are* provides a rich area of inquiry into the structure of voice systems. On the one hand, the adversative passive interacts with the non-adversative or plain passive in *-(r)are*; on the other, it interacts with a group of syntactically basic honorific, spontaneous and potential constructions, also in *-(r)are*. These two relationships of the adversative passive provide clear evidence of a dual pragmatic/semantic organization of voice in Japanese. The discussion will first center on the meaning and functions of the adversative passive and on its behavior vis-à-vis the non-adversative or plain passive; then the related non-derived constructions and their relationship to the adversative passive will be analyzed. Finally, the implications of this data for voice systems in general will be considered.

Passive constructions in Japanese formed with the verbal affix *-(r)are* are often said to be of two types, affective (or adversative) and non-affective (simple passive or pure

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passive). For reasons which will be discussed below, we shall adopt the more neutral term 'affective' following Klaiman 1987. Use of the affective passive presumably suggests that the subject of the clause has suffered or undergone a negative experience in some way (although some affective passives seem to be associated with positive effects), or at least that the speaker's attitude is that it was negative. The other type of passive does not suggest any special affective overtones and is usually felt by native speakers to be semantically neutral. For example, the affective passive[1]

(a) Chichi wa kodomo ni takai gakkoo ni nyuugakus-are-ta
(Klaiman 1987:421)
Father TOP child IO costly school LOC enroll-(R)ARE-PAST
'The father was subjected to his child enrolling in an expensive school'

is perceived as meaning that the father (i.e. the subject) was adversely affected by the child's enrolling in the expensive school, although this is only implied, not explicitly stated. On the other hand, the non-affective

(b) Ano syepado wa Satoo-san kara Tanaka-san ni
That German shepherd TOP Mr.Sato by Mr.Tanaka IO

ur -are -ta
sell-(R)ARE-PAST

'That German shepherd was sold to Mr.Tanaka by Mr. Sato'

[1]All examples of Japanese are from my own notes unless otherwise attributed—CC.

does not imply any adverse effects for the German shepherd.

The problem is that what appears to be a single construction type, apparently involving the promotion of some non-agent participant to subject, the demotion of the agent to a *ni*-phrase (*ni* being also an indirect object marker), and the use of the verbal affix *-(r)are* is used for what according to the intuitions of native speakers are two separate ways of meaning. The standard formulation of the problem has been, 'Is there one passive or two, and how do you predict which is which?' Both formal (N. McCawley 1972, Kuno 1973, Howard and Niekawa-Howard 1976) and functional/semantic approaches (Alfonso 1971, Klaiman 1987, Wierzbicka 1979) have been applied to the problem, with a great deal of controversy over definitions and over the essence of the so-called adversative connotations.

One important formal property of the affective passive is that it frequently involves an increase--rather than a decrease, as is far more usual with passives--of syntactic valence. As in the first example given above, a non-argument to the verb can assume the role of the affected subject without the loss of any initial argument NP. Some writers have attempted to use this special property of valence increase as a basis for defining the affective passive, while others (N. McCawley 1972, e.g.) have claimed that any participant --including the direct object (which would involve no increase in valence)--can become the subject of an affective passive,

or in other words, that valence increase is not a *defining* characteristic of the affective passive.

As far as the semantics of affective passives is concerned, Klaiman (1987:406) has demonstrated that both the affected subject and the agent in these constructions must be animate or have 'at least a potential for sentience' in order for them to work as affective passives. Beyond these two characteristics--a possible increase of syntactic valence and an animacy requirement for both undergoer and actor--little else has been conclusively demonstrated to pattern the difference between the affective and the non-affective passive. However, as will be shown below, limiting the scope of the problem to the domain of passivization only--i.e. viewing the affective passive as either a pure passive or an odd pure passive--obscures the actual value of this construction in a system of voice oppositions. Our emphasis here is not on attempting to define a sharp boundary between the two types of construction but rather on examining the interplay between affective and non-affective semantics to discover how voice functions in Japanese. Accordingly, we shall reformulate the question as, 'What role does the affective passive play in the overall scheme of voice relations in Japanese?'

1.1 Data from Japanese

1.1.1 Structural and semantic characteristics of affective passives

Consider the following data:

(1) John ga ame ni hur -are -ta. (Kuno 1973)
John TOP rain IO fall-(R)ARE-PAST
'John got caught in the rain.'

(2) John ga kodomo ni asa-hayaku okir-are-ta. (*ibid.*)
John TOP child IO morning-early arise-(R)ARE-PAST
'John had the children get up early on him.'

(3) Taroo ga haha ni yorokob-are-ta. (*ibid.*)
Taro TOP mother IO be.happy-(R)ARE-PAST
'Taro had his mother be happy on him.'

(4) Taroo ga otooto ni seikoo s-are-ta. (*ibid.*)
Taro TOP brother IO be.successful do-(R)ARE-PAST
'Taro was subjected to his brother being successful.'

(5) Kireina ojoosan ni nak-are-ru to chotto uresii
Pretty girl IO cry-(R)ARE-PRES little.bit nice

mono da. (Alfonso 1971)
kind of

'It's kind of nice when a beautiful girl cries because of you.' (affected = speaker)

(6) Mary wa oto ni kanasim -are -ta.
Mary TOP husband IO be.sad-(R)ARE-PAST
'Mary was felt sad about by her husband.'

(7) John ga tuma ni sin-are -ta. (Kuno 1973)
John TOP wife IO die-(R)ARE-PAST
'John was died by his wife' or 'John's wife died on him.'

The verbs in the above sentences are all intransitive and the topic/affected subject NPs are 'extra noun phrases' as spoken of by Kuno--in other words, non-initial arguments to the verb. These sentences cannot be derived from any active sentence;

for example, (7) cannot be derived from **Tuma wa John o sinda* 'The wife died John'. The *wa*-marked participants in these sentences cannot be initial arguments to the non-derived verb, but would be rather adjuncts, or possibly possessors, as in (7). These sentences are all routinely judged affective by native speakers of Japanese. However, they are not all necessarily considered adversative for the undergoer; sentences (3) and (5) have rather a positive connotation, at least for some speakers. (Hence our use of the more neutral term 'affective'.) The point here is that passives with adjuncts or possessors as subject are nearly always judged affective, whether beneficial or adversative.

The next set of examples lacks the extra noun phrase:

(8) Tanaka san wa Sato san ni kuruma o ur-are-ta.
(N.McCawley 1972b)
Tanaka HON TOP Sato HON IO car DO sell-(R)ARE-PAST
'Mr. Tanaka was sold the car by Mr. Sato.'

(9) Taroo wa Mary ni himitu o uciake-rare-ta.
Taroo TOP Mary IO secret DO reveal-(R)ARE-PAST
'Taro was told (confided) the secret by Mary.'

(10) Taroo wa Mary ni uso o tuk-are-ta.
Taro TOP Mary IO lie DO lie-(R)ARE-PAST
'Taro was lied to by Mary.'

(11) Taroo wa Mary ni ii sirase kik-as-are-ta.
Taro TOP Mary IO good news listen-CAUS-(R)ARE-PAST
'Taroo was told ['made to listen to'] the good news by Mary.'

(12) Watasi wa gakkoo de manaa o osie-rare-ta.
(Klaiman 1987:429)
I TOP school LOC manners DO teach-(R)ARE-PAST
'I was taught manners in school.'

The above five examples differ from the previous set in that they do have active counterparts and in that the affected subject of the passive is marked as an indirect object in the active. The affected subject is thus an initial argument to the verb in these examples, rather than an adjunct, possessor, etc., as in (1)-(7), so that these examples lack the structural characteristics considered to be the hallmark of the affective passive. Nevertheless, these sentences are judged affective by native speakers. Sentence (8), which actually was marked ungrammatical by N. McCawley (1972b:264), was accepted by my consultants, who explained that the sentence means that Tanaka was somehow prodded or urged to buy the car by Sato. It does not have the semantic neutrality that the active counterpart would have. Sentences (9), (10) and (11) were not felt to have a necessarily negative impact on the subject, but they do imply that being told the secret, the lie, or the good news was an unexpected surprise, which the hearer did not expect or had no control over. The sentences may not be used in a situation where the hearer could expect to be told a lie or receive good news, etc., as the active versions may. Sentence (12) does not imply anything unexpected, but is felt to emphasize the school's responsibility for the teaching of the manners over the

speaker's initiative. This will be discussed in more detail below. What all of these examples have in common is that, in the first place, they all have indirect objects as affected subjects rather than adjuncts or possessors, and in the second place, they not only lack the semantic neutrality of their active counterparts, they actually represent an event that is at least partially different from that of the active versions. The meaning differences between affective passives on the one hand and actives and non-affective passives on the other, will be elaborated on below.

While passives with adjuncts or possessors as subject are affective, not all passives with indirect objects as subject are affective. For example:

(13) Kinoo watasi wa Taroo ni zuga o osie-rare-ta.
Yesterday I TOP Taro IO painting DO teach-(R)ARE-PAST
'Yesterday I was taught painting by Taro.'[1]

(14) Mary wa John ni jodan o yuw -are -ta.
Mary TOP John IO joke DO tell-(R)ARE-PAST
'Mary was told a joke by John.'

(15) Boku wa sensei ni kodomo o home-rare-ta
I TOP teacher IO child DO praise-(R)ARE-PAST
'My child was praised by the teacher.'

These sentences were not judged to be affective by my consultants, even though they are very similar to sentences above which were felt to be affective. Notice also that (15)

[1]Klaiman (1987:429) claims that this example is understood as being adversative for the speaker; none of my consultants agreed with this interpretation.

has a possessor as affected subject rather than an indirect object. Clearly this is a hazy area, with judgments being influenced by situational context, lexical content, etc. We cannot say that indirect objects are or are not the cut-off point for eligibility as subject of an affective passive.

One further set of examples:

(16) **Kodomo wa oya ni Nihon ni nokos -are -ta.**
Child TOP parent IO Japan LOC leave-(R)ARE-PAST
'The child was left in Japan by its parent.'
(Howard and Niekawa-Howard 1976:210)

(17) **Ozawa san wa Suzuki san ni nizikan mo mat-as-are-ta.**
Ozawa HON TOP Suzuki HON IO 2 hours wait-CAUS-(R)ARE-PAST
'Ozawa was made to wait by Suzuki for as long as two hours.'

These two examples are from Howard and Niekawa-Howard 1976 and were presented as evidence that even direct objects can become the subject of affective passives in Japanese. However, the event represented in (16) does not actually differ in propositional content from that represented in its active counterpart, and the apparent affective semantics can be attributed to the nature of the lexical verb: in other words, it is reasonable to expect that a child being left by its parents to go to another country is an adversative situation. The example is thus inconclusive. Sentence (17) was described by Howard and Niyekawa-Howard as differing in meaning from the active sentence *Ozawa wa Suzuki o nizikan matta* 'Ozawa waited for Suzuki as long as two hours' in the sense that Ozawa was

forced to wait by Suzuki in the passive version, but (17) is actually the passive version of the *causative* Japanese sentence *Suzuki wa Ozawa o nizikan mataseta* 'Suzuki made Ozawa wait for two hours', and clearly the two versions--active causative and passive causative--do not differ in propositional content. Thus there is still scant evidence for patients being subjects of affective passives in Japanese.

To sum up the above observations on the characteristics of the affective passive, we present the following scale:

Figure 1.1

Figure 1.1 shows that the likelihood of a participant's becoming the subject of an affective passive decreases the more to the left we go on the scale of involvement, dropping down to a small degree of likelihood between the benefactive/recipient and patient positions. Notice that the diagram indicates an indeterminate area for indirect objects, which is reflected in the data by the fact that passives with indirect objects are sometimes affective, sometimes not, and sometimes vaguely so; recall (8)-(12) vs. (13)-(14). The

diagram also reflects the observation that possessors and adjuncts as passivized subject nearly always involve affective semantics but possessors less so than adjuncts. So we see that not only must the subject be high on the animacy hierarchy as Klaiman (1987) points out, it will also occupy a certain position on a scale of participant involvement ('involvement' in the sense of D. Payne 1982). It would appear that when a more remote participant becomes subject of a passive, then it automatically 'ups' the transitivity of the proposition, as the participant is drawn into a more involved status; if so, this would explain why direct objects rarely function as subjects of affective passives: they are already closely enough involved in the event.

1.2 Functional aspects of affective passives

Now that we have presented some of the general structural and semantic features of affective passives, we will address the functional aspects, first presenting a more detailed analysis of the meanings of the above sentences.

(3) Taroo ga haha ni yorokob -are-ta.
Taro NOM mother IO be.happy-(R)ARE-PAST
'Taro had his mother be happy on him.'

(6) Mary wa oto ni kanasim-are-ta.
Mary TOP husband IO be.sad-(R)ARE-PAST
'Mary was felt sad about by her husband.'

Part of the meaning of (3) is that not only was Taro 'been happy about' by his mother, but that he did something to bring that state of affairs about, whether intentionally or unintentionally. Thus it could mean that he got an A on a test, that he found a golden egg, that he was handsome and popular, etc. Sentence (6) also implies, although not as strongly, that Mary did something or at least was in a situation such that she made her husband sad, whether deliberately or not. So we see from these two examples that the subject of the affective passive can influence the occurrence of the event intentionally or unintentionally. This runs counter to Alfonso's (1971) claim that the single most salient characteristic of affective passives is that the subject is invariably a helpless and unwitting victim of circumstance. Although this is frequently true of affective passives, it is not a defining characteristic.

Next, (8) and (12):

(8) Tanaka san wa Sato san ni kuruma o ur-are-ta.
Tanaka HON TOP Sato HON IO car DO sell-(R)ARE-PAST
'Mr. Tanaka was sold the car by Mr. Sato.'

(12) Watasi wa gakkoo de manaa o osie-rare -ta.
I TOP school LOC manners DO teach-(R)ARE-PAST
'I was taught manners in school.'

As mentioned earlier, (8) means that Mr. Sato has somehow prodded or persuaded Tanaka to buy the car. This implication is absent in the active version of the sentence. Sentence

(12) as well emphasizes the school's active role in the teaching of the manners as opposed to simply stating the fact that the speaker learned manners and it happened to be in school where he or she did it. The affective component of each of these sentences emphasizes the greater potency of the agent over the patient. Although Shibatani (1985; 1988) has claimed that agent demotion is the essential characteristic of all passives, and while this may be true at least structurally for the affective passive (agents being marked by indirect and oblique case markers respectively in [8] and [12]), it does not seem to be strictly true semantically.

Now, (9) through (11):

(9) Taroo wa Mary ni himitu o uciake-rare-ta.
Taro TOP Mary IO secret DO reveal-(R)ARE-PAST
'Taro was told (confided) the secret by Mary.'

(10) Taroo wa Mary ni uso o tuk-are-ta.
Taroo TOP Mary IO lie DO lie-(R)ARE-PAST
'Taroo was lied to by Mary.'

(11) Taroo wa Mary ni ii sirase kik-as-are-ta.
Taro TOP Mary IO good news listen-CAUS-(R)ARE-PAST
'Taroo was told ['made to listen to'] the good news by Mary.'

We stated earlier that (9) through (11) describe situations in which the subject (Taro) has no control over the action undergone, and that while this is not obligatorily the case in affective passives, it is often characteristic of them, as these examples show. Notice that being told good news is treated the same way semantically and structurally as being

told a lie or a secret; thus there is no evidence for distinguishing different types of beneficial or adversative affective passives, as Wierzbicka (1979) does. The 'affective meaning' here is simply that the subject had no control over what happened to him or her.

Reviewing the above observations, we can distinguish three salient characteristics of the affective passive. Two are semantic, namely, the expression of greater affectedness of recipient ([9]-[11]) and the expression of greater potency of agent ([8], [12]). The third has both syntactic and semantic consequences, namely the introduction of an additional argument to an intransitive or a transitive verb, thereby increasing valence by one. In all cases, a non-agent/experiencer participant is in subject position, and the agent is demoted syntactically. Rather than distinguishing three types of affective passives corresponding to the above three functions, we can generalize: the essential semantic function of the affective passive in Japanese is to express heightened transitivity as compared to a syntactically active representation of the same event, if indeed an active representation is even possible. This is not meant to imply that other, more typical passive functions, such as pragmatic focussing (by pragmatic here we intend 'external to event' in the sense of Foley and Van Valin 1984), expression of empathy, etc., are not also involved. However, increase of transitivity is an integral function of the construction.

1.3 The affective passive in perspective: voice systems

Since it exhibits the same case marking and verbal morphology as the non-affective passive, and since a non-agent participant is promoted to subject, the traditional 'passive' status of the Japanese affective passive has not been questioned. In order to evaluate the role of this construction in the voice system of Japanese, we must first consider what passives are, and how voice systems are structured. The passive has been defined by Perlmutter and Postal (1977) as a device for promoting direct objects into subject position; it has been defined by Shibatani (1985;1988b) as a device for demoting agents out of subject position; and by Givón (1981;1988) as a construction having a range of functions from topicalization to agent suppression to detransitivization. Most of these approaches treat the passive as a relatively isolated phenomenon, without relating it to voice constructions other than the active. The passive has been defined in more traditional works treating voice as a system (Barber 1975; Lyons 1968) as a construction in which the grammatical subject realizes the affected participant and is acted on by an outside participant (i.e. the agent). Many researchers also associate the passive with reduced valence; the passive is often said to have one less participant than the active (at least syntactically). If we compare all of these definitions of the passive to the defining characteristics of the Japanese affective passive, we find

that they are all *appropriate* (except for valence reduction) and perhaps even necessary conditions, but none of them, taken either separately or together, constitutes *sufficient* conditions for distinguishing the affective passive on its own terms. Although the affective passive shares certain features with the non-affective or pure passive--namely verbal morphology, case marking and promotion of non-actor to subject--it differs in some crucial functional aspects from the non-affective passive. Heightened semantic transitivity and an increase of syntactic valence are more typical of other voice constructions such as causatives; they are very atypical for passives, which are frequently associated with decreased valence and stativity. The affective passive clearly has a value distinct from that of the non-affective passive. However, there does not seem to be a place for constructions like it in treatments of passiveness or of voice systems in general as they have been handled so far. The answer to this problem lies in a more comprehensive understanding of voice and of the functions of voice alternants. Instead of recognizing only a simple binary active-passive voice system, or one with perhaps three values (active-middle-passive), the contrasting constructions of each language should be allowed to determine the structure and range of the voice system which they comprise. In the Japanese case, the plain passive behaves very much as described in the above-mentioned approaches. It fulfills pragmatic functions such as promotion

of non-agent and demotion of agent in order to express the speaker's point of view or empathy, topicalization of a participant salient in the current discourse, defocussing an unknown or irrelevant agent, etc. The affective passive, on the other hand, fulfills possibly all of these, but has a semantic aspect as well: it increases the transitivity of the proposition.

1.3.1 Related constructions: honorific, spontaneous, potential

The morpheme *-(r)are* found in both kinds of passives described above is used in non-passive constructions as well, specifically in intransitive spontaneous, honorific, and potential constructions. The correlation of the passive uses of *-(r)are* and the non-passive uses has been noted in the literature, most extensively by Shibatani (1985), but the implications of their relationship have never been fully explored. We will look at some examples of these constructions.

(18) Boku wa nemur -are -nakat-ta. (Shibatani 1985:823)
I TOP sleep-(R)ARE-NEG-PAST
'I couldn't sleep.'

(19) Sensei ga waraw-are -ta. (*ibid.*)
Teacher NOM laugh-(R)ARE-PAST
'The teacher laughed [hon.].'

(20) **Mukasi ga sinob -are-ru.**(*ibid.*)
Old.time NOM think.about-(R)ARE-PRES.
'An old time comes [spontaneously] to mind.'

Although these sentences have verbs marked with *-(r)are*, they are not passives, affective or plain. They are all intransitive and have agents or experiencers in subject position; there are no *grammatically* promoted or demoted constituents. The role of the subject is, however, modulated in some way. Sentence (18) expresses lack of ability on the part of the subject; (19) expresses the distancing or defocussing common in honorifics (compare the English royal *we*); and (20) expresses the lack of agentive control associated with 'spontaneous' events. Shibatani (1985:822-23) describes the subjects as being 'demoted'; Davis and Huang (1989) point out that

> The 'remoteness' of PERIPHERALITY is almost literally present as the distancing which connotes the 'politeness' of [18]. The AGENT/EXECUTOR's lack of command over the performance of the EVENT ('spontaneity')...i.e. [19], and the lessened effectiveness of a 'negative potential', i.e. [20], add to the PERIPHERAL semantics of the...AGENTS/EXECUTORS. Again, the semantics of CENTRAL - PERIPHERAL is implicated by the Passive form *-are-*, although these examples are semantically more MEDIO-PASSIVE or MIDDLE than they are Passive.

Generally speaking, what *-(r)are* does in these examples (with the exception of the honorific use) is to specify the agent/ experiencer's relationship to the event, to express not just

the fact that the event was performed or experienced, but that it was done under certain circumstances or conditions. Compare the active-middle distinction in Greek or the verb agreement paradigms in Muskogean (cf. for example Payne 1982). These uses of *-(r)are* function similarly. Sentence (21) shows, furthermore, that this special use of *-(r)are* is not limited to intransitive verbs:

(21) a. Haha wa John kara Mary eno bara o azukat-ta.
Mother TOP John from Mary for rose DO be.entrusted.with-PAST

b. Haha wa John kara Mary eno bara o azuke-rare-ta.
be.entrusted.with-(R)ARE-PAST

'The mother got a rose from John for Mary.'

This nearly identical pair of examples is very unusual in that (21b) appears to be morphologically passivized although case marking and grammatical relations are not affected in any way with respect to (21a). There is no change in speaker's empathy or point of view, the grammatical subject remains the same, no participants are demoted or promoted--in other words, none of the typical features of the (plain) passive is present. There is a semantic difference, however. The second version of the sentence implies that it was John's idea to get the mother to keep the rose for Mary, that it was a favor he asked of her. The first version implies simply that the mother received the rose. Once again we see *-(r)are* used to express a semantic nuance of the experiencer's relationship to

the event; and since this construction does not rearrange the grammatical functions in any way (no grammatical promotion or demotion), it is more closely associated with the honorific, spontaneous, and potential constructions than with the passive.

1.3.2 Interrelationships of passives, affective passives and related constructions: the structure of voice systems

To review the uses of *-(r)are* in Japanese, we have seen how it behaves in three types of constructions: plain passives, affective passives and non-passive constructions. In the first group, plain passives, *-(r)are* together with a patient promoted to subject and an agent demoted to a *ni*-phrase or omitted achieves the pragmatic goal of getting a certain participant into or out of subject position, whether to focus or topicalize a non-agent, defocus an agent, or to express speaker's point of view/empathy. Formally, it helps signal which constituent will bear the relationship of the *grammatical subject* to the *verb* without manipulating the semantics of the basic proposition. In affective passives, *-(r)are* together with a non-actor promoted to subject and a demoted agent not only expresses the pragmatic functions of the plain passive, but also modifies the content of the proposition: it further specifies the relationship of the *primary participant* to the *narrated event*. Finally, the non-passive uses of *-(r)are* do not manipulate grammatical relations; they modify the semantic relationship of the

agent/experiencer to the *narrated event*. Comparing these latter forms in *-(r)are* ([18]-[21]) with their counterparts lacking *-(r)are* marking, we see that the same participant stands in the relation of grammatical subject to the verb; no constituent is promoted or demoted, only the precise nature of the agent/experiencer's relationship to the event is changed.

These two types of relationship, subject-to-verb and experiencer-to-event, exemplify *pragmatic* and *semantic* voice, respectively. This distinction may be likened to Foley and Van Valin's (1984) distinction of information internal- and external-to-event, pragmatic voice expressing information external to the event and semantic voice expressing information internal to the event. Figure 1.2 shows these relationships.

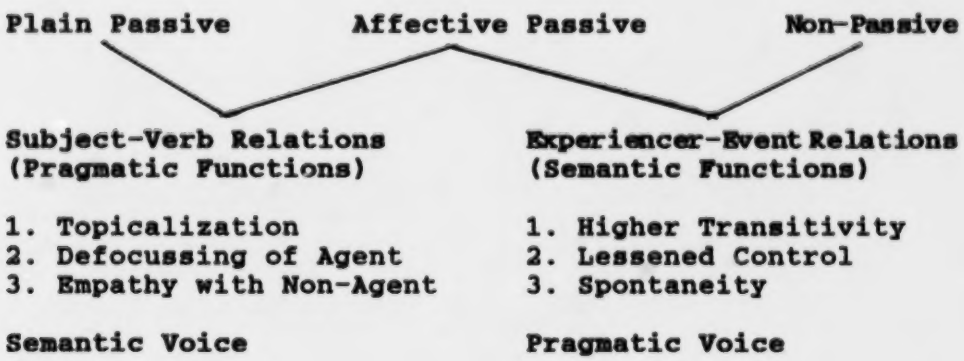

Figure 1.2

As the figure illustrates, the affective passive forms an intersecting point for the two types of functions, pragmatic

and semantic. It combines the pragmatic functions of topicalization and defocussing associated with the plain passive with the semantic functions associated with spontaneous and potential constructions.

This situation, with a particular construction type bridging the gap between pragmatic and semantic voice, may be similar to that of ancient Greek at around the time that the periphrastic passive developed in that language. An active-middle or semantic voice distinction (i.e., one not promoting or demoting grammatical relations) was at first prevalent, then a separate passive inflection arose, and finally a periphrastic passive which actually manipulated grammatical relations developed at a later stage. Japanese grammarians have noted (Fred C.C. Peng, p.c. *inter alia*) that the non-passive uses of *-(r)are* are historically prior to the passive uses and that the periphrastic passive in Japanese is a recent innovation, the use of which is sometimes said to have been influenced by the introduction of English in the last 100-150 years.

The study of voice in many languages seems to have been complicated by the coexistence of the two types of voice and by a failure to recognize them as separate but closely related phenomena. The difficulties grammarians have faced in attempting to systematically relate descriptions of passives to descriptions of active-middle distinctions, for example, reflects this confusion. The confusion is understandable when

we consider the two planes of content and expression and how they intersect: the grammatical functions of a sentence (subject, object, verb) are *symbols* of the semantic components of the proposition (agent/experiencer, patient, event); the grammatical level *represents* but is not identical to the semantic level. The symbol (the sentence) has been confused with its referent (the proposition). In languages in which there is a relatively close bond between grammatical roles and semantic roles (cf. Comrie 1988), it is not surprising that a modification of one level, either the experiencer-event relation *or* the subject-verb relation, for whatever reason, would have comparable repercussions on the other, obscuring the picture. While we would not want to categorically claim that pragmatic voice has *no* semantic functions or that semantic voice has no pragmatic functions, it is important to first recognize the two levels of phenomena before we can fully understand their interaction.

The traditional approach to voice may be characterized as opposing active voice to non-active voices by a criterion of whether or not the subject was 'affected' by the verbally denoted action. If we consider voice distinctions to be based on the subject being 'affected' or 'not affected', the distinction between affective and plain passives becomes obscured, since in both construction types the subject can be described as 'affected'. It is also difficult in many cases to determine just what is meant by the term 'affected.' In an

example such as *Sensei ga waraw-are-ta* 'The teacher laughed [hon.]', in what way and to what degree is the teacher himself actually *affected*? The difficulty becomes even more apparent in (20), *Mukasi ga sinob-are-ru* 'An old time comes [spontaneously] to mind'.

The inadequacy of the definition based on affectedness of subject arises with the characterization of another construction, the causative. The Japanese causative behaves syntactically much like the affective passive: the verb is marked with the causative morpheme *-(s)ase* and the syntactic valence is increased by the addition of a causer participant as subject and the 'demotion' of what would be the agent (in a non-derived counterpart) to a *ni*-phrase (or an *o*-phrase in intransitive sentences, depending on whether the coercive or permissive sense is intended):

(22) John ga Mary ni hon o yom-sase-ta. (Kuno 1973:345)
John TOP Mary IO book DO read-CAUS-PAST
'John made/let Mary read books.'

(23) John ga Mary o ik-ase-ru. (Kuno 1973:341)
John TOP Mary DO go-CAUS-PRES
'John makes Mary go.'

(24) John ga Mary ni ik-ase-ru. (*ibid.*)
John TOP Mary IO go-CAUS-PRES
'John lets Mary go.'

The counterpart to the 'subject as affected' non-active voice distinction in the traditional approach is the 'subject as non-affected doer of action' for active voices. As we see

with the Japanese causatives, this definition is as inadequate for non-passive voices as the 'subject as affected' definition was for non-active voices. If we define active voice semantically as having an 'unaffected' agent in subject position, then causatives will be definitionally equivalent to non-derived actives.

The causative in Japanese shares with the affective passive the semantic characteristic of an increase in transitivity as well as the syntactic characteristic of increased valence. This association of affective passives with causatives is paralleled in English by *get*-constructions such as *get*-passives (*I got fired last week*) and *get*-causatives (*I got him to do it*).

The existence of two types of voice patterning has been recognized by Klaiman (1988 and p.c.); they are described as 'basic' and 'derived.' Basic voice is linked explicitly to inflectional marking of voice, such as the Greek and Sanskrit active and middle systems, Navajo animacy-based agreement, Tamil weak and strong tantums, etc. : 'the term 'basic voice'...denotes a type of relation encoded in verbal morphology...signaling which of several alternative conceptual statuses is borne by the sentential subject' (1988:29). Derived voice, on the other hand, involves 'processes like passive and antipassive...often signaled in verbal morphology by derivational markers, and...sometimes accounted for in terms of sentence-deriving rules' (*ibid.*), and 'meets any of

several important functions (like nominal reference tracking, marking alternations in polyadicity of lexical verbs, etc.) which belong to the syntactic level of analysis' (p.c.). Although Klaiman appears to be distinguishing pragmatic ('derived') from semantic ('basic') voice, her treatment is problematic for two reasons. First, subject-verb relations are never clearly enough differentiated from experiencer-event relations, a step which is crucial to understanding either type of system. Secondly, each type of voice in Klaiman's treatment is explicitly linked to a particular formal realization, basic voice being evidently near to a synonym for 'inflectional' voice and derived voice being equated specifically with passives and antipassives. Linking a type of voice with a specific formal realization can obscure the analysis. As we have seen, the morpheme *-(r)are* is not exclusively an inflectional marker. It looks two ways, working as a marker of canonical passivization in derived plain and affective passives much like the English passive *-ed*, and working also as a limited derivational morpheme elsewhere. It appears in both 'basic' and 'derived' constructions and can fulfill either grammatical or semantic functions or both at the same time, as in the affective passive. Futhermore, semantic voice is not always realized inflectionally and pragmatic voice is not always realized by sentence derivation. To understand how voice works, we must look not just at morphology or sentence derivation, but at how

the grammatical relations and semantic roles are affected in various constructions.

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